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ON THE TEXT OF "LA BATAILLE DES VII ARTS"

Dr. Paetow's is the sixth (and the most elaborate) edition¹ of this deservedly celebrated poem, four² having been put forth by Jubinal (1838-39, 1875) and a much better one in 1880 by A. Héron, for the Société rouennaise de Bibliophiles. Jubinal dealt with the poem merely as an appendix to his edition of Rustebuef, defender of the University of Paris against the Mendicants; Héron's interest was primarily that of the local antiquary (for Andeli is supposed to be Les Andelys, on the Seine, 23 kilometers northeast of Evreux), and Dr. Paetow, whose dissertation, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, 1910, is favorably known, approaches the work of Henri d'Andeli from the side of the history of pedagogy. Thus it happens that very little serious work has been done upon the text itself since G. Paris reviewed Héron's edition, in 1882; on this score, the editor's chief service is to have provided admirable facsimiles of the two Paris manuscripts.

Dr. Paetow aimed also to furnish "a faithful, line for line, prose reproduction [that is, English translation] of the contents of the original." His French text, however, appears to be based upon a somewhat capricious and wholly subjective choice of readings; no doubt the editor is aware that it deserves the name of "the original" only by courtesy. Thanks are expressed to Professors Weeks, Hamilton, and Beck for their assistance and Professor Weeks is thanked a second time "for much valuable help in editing and translating the poem." We imagine, however, that none of these scholars reviewed the text or the translation in its entirety, for there is cause for a good deal of dissatisfaction on the linguistic side, some of the errors made being of a kind easily avoidable by stricter attention to

¹ *The Battle of the Seven Arts*. A French poem by Henri d'Andeli, Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century, edited and translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Louis John Paetow. Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. IV, No. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914.

² The editor has overlooked the first edition of 1838, a copy of which is in the University of Chicago Library: *La Bataille et le Mariage des VII Arts, pièces inédites du xiii^e siècle en langue romane publiées pour la première fois par Achille Jubinal. Paris chez Edouard Pannier*. Cette publication n'a été tirée qu'à un très-petit nombre d'exemplaires.

Old French grammar and phraseology. In what follows I have attempted not to criticize the French text in detail but to remove some of the "dreary and obscure reaches of the poem" of which the editor complains, my conviction being that it is not too much to hope that some future editor may be able to eliminate them entirely, and so justify a better opinion of this witty and extremely interesting satire.

14-15 are obscured by the division in two of the word *porvers* (the rhyme VERSUS: VERUM being impossible here) so that we should translate: "But they [the clerks of Orleans] in turn also talk wickedly, in that they call Dialectics rubbish."¹ 26 As the editor says, *Donaet* is, strictly speaking, the *Ars minor*. The form is interesting because the fall of the intervocalic consonant shows that the compound *Donatittus* (or *-etus*?) dates from at least the tenth or eleventh century. 38 I imagine the author is here speaking of a pepper-sauce thickened with burnt bread, with which curious material the salmon and dace were daubed upon the shield. 46 O. Fr. *ire* is "chagrin," "vexation" rather than "wrath." 55 *levant* has no support; *troussèrent* of B is good, especially as *troi seuent* of A could easily have been corrupted from it. 63 The battle took place in the shadow of Montlhéry, on the plain: why then render *soz* by "on"? 77 *Distrent* is mistranslated: it was these church Fathers who took pains to warn Divinity that she should avoid the emptiness and squabbles of the Rhetoricians, and this she proceeds to do. 97-98 I render: "The arts students and the grammarians all are now acting exactly contrary to the customs of the good old times." 107 Raoul de la Charité came perhaps from the town of that name on the Loire.

109-10 are mistranslated, *nul* requiring *ne* to make a negation. Rather: "All these [bold surgeons] would gather to the money-making if they saw there [in the coming battle] any prospect of illnesses [or wounds]." 112 I suspect the correct reading was *Cirurgie* *Se seoit lez un sanglent tastre*, that is, "beside a trestle," or "butcher's block," the humble ancestor of the operating-table.

¹ *Porvers* is Lat. PERVERSUS. Elsewhere, it is true, Henri uses (*gent*) *perverse* (l. 93) which is the biblical phrase, but the form *porvers* is also well attested, e.g., *Richeut* 568 (*Romanic Review*, IV, 280, 296). The idiom reoccurs *Pel. Charlem.* 716: *il dist que curteis*, and often elsewhere. For *quelquielque* I adopt the explanation offered in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, I, 79.

170 The reading of A, *entre .ii. os*, "between the armies," is excellent; that of B, *entre irois*, is plainly a corruption and unintelligible. The editor adopts *irois*, but then translates quite unaccountably, "between the combatants." 210 *Propertius* in the translation is a slip for *Prosper*.

244 *hoschier* in B should not have been overlooked; as it has more point, it should have been preferred to *hochier*. 265 Rather: "For she could not be expected to resist everybody at once." 279 *nes* is misdivided: *ne les* is satisfactory for meaning. 311-12 I understand differently. The ladies went into Montlhéry (as they had been advised to do) and did this, not through fear of the enemy (which they never would admit); no, they went in "merely because of the love which they were [graciously] willing to bestow upon the castle." The dames really were afraid, but for the world would not admit it. And the irony continues:

Et de ce firent els savoir
Qu'els aiment les choses hautaines,
Et Gramaire aime les fontaines.

The editor does not help us on the last of these lines. Evidently Dame Grammar loves things not lofty, but what are these disreputable weaknesses of hers? According to Larousse,¹ *fontaine* also meant *grand vase d'orfèvrerie qu'on plaçait au moyen âge au milieu de la table et qui contenait du vin, de l'ypocras et d'autres liqueurs*. To Villon, *boire ypocras à jour et à nuitée* was the very acme of the indulgent life, and it may well be that these *fontaines* are connected with the *granz gomers* mentioned at the beginning (l. 10). I might observe, however, that both Du Cange and La Curne register the expression *faire ses fontaines*, c.à.d., *se livrer aux divertissements de la mi-carême*.² The day of *Laetare, Jerusalem*, it appears, was called *le Dimanche des fontaines*: *on se rendait à une fontaine pour boire des eaux*. The happy character of the service at mid-Lent is otherwise well known. In the service for the day occurs the word *sitiens*, signifying the person who may desire to join the church at Easter: could this be the needed link between the idea of rejoicing (*gaudete in laetitia*) and the custom

¹ I am indebted to Dr. C. J. Cipriani for noting this. It ought not to be difficult to verify Larousse's statement.

² Cf. also Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions populaires*, s.v. "fontaines."

of a picnic in the woods, with a draught from the spring? However this may be, *faire ses fontaines* meant undoubtedly "to have a festive time": *pour eulx esbatre et faire leurs fontaines* says one text. It may well be that while Logic claimed to love lofty things, Grammar was scorned as being content with frivolous amusements. Henri himself, in a passage (254 ff.) of which much more might have been made, for it shows the author very plainly in the rôle of an outsider in the quarrel, speaks of the *vanités* of the Grammar party.

325 *En l'essil ou il [Ovide] fu du moins*: "in the exile to which Ovid was relegated," rather than "where he was in want." The expression *estre du moins* had various meanings, and it is not easy to be certain of one's translation here, or at ll. 20, 120; but some help might be drawn from Tobler's note, *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, p. 142.

334-36:

Estacez Achilleïdos

Menoit par devant soi les hez:

"The word *hez* is somewhat troublesome," says the editor, but the reading of B, *les ez*, might have put him upon the right track. All the combatants introduced in this passage, beginning with the leader Estacet, have the diminutive termination *-et*—Chatonet, Avionet, Panfilet, and Theaudelet: so these were not the "vets" but the junior contingent, the *cadets*, and they followed their leader with such ardor and nimbleness (346 ff.) that they came very near capturing Dames Logic, Astronomy, and Rhetoric by the feet;¹ but the ladies were lodged too high (in the tower of Montlhéry) to be caught. Cf. 416. 355 *encressent* is a variant of *engressent*, hence: "they stir up their pupils with their whips and their tongues." 357 *lasses* could never mean "tiresome." 358-59 Possibly the original read:

Logique fiert tant es siuanz

Qu'ele a mis sa cotele a panz.

362, 363 are two co-ordinate propositions: "With her arms she makes a great pretense, [but] on her body there is no substance," which fits the satire perfectly. 391 "Than there are disputes in Logic."

¹ Dr. Paetow's acceptance of Héron's suggestion (*les hez*, "the stakes") in 336 seems to lead him into the bizarre translation of *parmi les piez* by "among the stakes." Perhaps he has *pieuz* in mind for this second passage, but one would have to go far afield among the dialects for such a variant as *piez* for *pieuz*. Besides, both his MSS usually have *s* for *z*, and not *z* for *s*.

392 "Was unable to get thru successfully." 404 Here is mentioned a Walter the Englishman, *qui lut sur Petit Pont*, *lut* being, I suppose, pf. 3 of *lire*. The editor in both his translation and his note seems to refer it to *lutter* (!). But Dame Grammar here raises her voice to protest that ps. 3 of *lutter* in O.F. was necessarily *luite*—two syllables, hence impossible here. 427 ff. are badly mixed in the translation, and possibly not satisfactory in the MSS. In 427, *rabaces* is almost certainly modern *rabâches*, which appears to be a Picard form; cf. *Aussi ne fait il fors rabaches*, in Adam's *Ju de la Feuillie* (*Anc. Théâtre frç.*, p. 72), while *rabasser* is noted by Bescherelle as "a former variant" of *rabâcher*. 445 "Have no longer any use for their [hospitable] quarters" (which Versifex used to occupy). 450 ff. are the concluding reflections of Henri d'Andeli: some of these I understand quite differently from the editor. In Brittany and in Germany, it appears, you may still study Grammar, but not in the neighborhood of Paris nor in Lombardy. "Sirs, the people of this world come and go in streaks: after good wheat will come oats (an inferior grain); for as much as thirty years they will act thus, until a new generation will come on the scene who will go back to Grammar, just as they used to do when Henri d'Andeli was born, who comes forward to say in Grammar's name [*de par li*] that the smart pupil who cannot construe his lesson should be destroyed."

Cognitio duplex, said Erasmus: *verborum prior, rerum potior*.

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